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A SERMON ON THE MARTYRDOM OF King CHARLES I.

Preached *January* 30. 1681.

WITH A

RELATION OF

Some *Rebellious Practices* and *Principles* of *FANATICKS.*

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A SERMON ON THE MARTYRDOM OF King Charles I.

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Rom. XIII. 1.

Let every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers.

1. Ἐξουσίαις ὑπερέχουσαι, *the higher* [ſupreme, or ſuper-eminent] *powers*, it is manifeſt, are *Rulers*: for that the Apoſtle giving the reaſon why the Chriſtians muſt be ſubject to them, calls them ſo; ſaying, *For Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil*, v. 3. And that which he adds agrees only to a *perſon* endued with power or authority, and not at all to *power* or authority in the *abſtract*, *The power is the Miniſter of God to thee for good, and bears not the ſword in vain, and is a Revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil*, v. 4. And thus we find *powers* ſignifie in other places of Scripture: as *Luke* 12. 11. *They ſhall*

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bring you unto the Magistrates and Powers. Tit. 3. 1. *Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates* *. So that to acknowledge authority, whilst we war against our Rulers (which is *Resisting*) is not sufficient to excuse us.

* See 2 Pet. 2. 10. with *Exod.* 22. 28.

And the Rulers which the Apostle speaks of, are the *Civil*: those (as you see) that *bear the Sword*, and *execute wrath*, i. e. corporal punishment, which agrees not to the *Ecclesiastical*.

Wherefore they are particularly those Magistrates which ruled over the *Romans* at this time: *Cæsar*, who was the *head* and chief; and the several *Officers* that were *under* him and *appointed* by him. And thus St. *Peter* giving the same Command to the Christian *Jews* that were scattered in several parts of the *Roman Empire* (*Cæsar's* Dominion) expresses it, in his 1 *Epist.* 2. 13, 14. saying, *Submit your selves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King, as supreme; or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that doe well.*

This Commandment to the Christians under the *Roman* Government doth extend and belong to *all other* Christians even to the end of the world, under what *sort* of Government soever they are, whether *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy* or *Democracy*: viz. to be subject to the supreme Civil Power, and to all that by that Power are put in Authority. For the reason of the Commandment is *perpetual*, which the Apostle gives, namely, that Rulers are *God's Ordinance*, *God's Ministers for good to them that doe good, and for wrath to them that doe evil.*

2. Let us see what the Commandment doth *mean*, *Be subject.* A *Commandment* it is, even as it is a Commandment for Servants to obey their Masters, and Children their Parents, and for Wives to be subject to their Husbands: and not a *counsel* or advice, as if it might be done when we see it *convenient*, and omitted at our *pleasure* according to our discretion without any *sin* against God. For the Apostle tells us *v.* 5. that *we must Needs be subject*, and that not only *for wrath*, but also *for Conscience-sake*: And again, that *they that resist the power, resist the Ordinance of God*, and that for so doing *they shall receive to themselves Damnation*, v. 2.

Now this Commandment doth mean, that we must *obey* the Powers. So we have heard St. *Paul* himself explaining it, *Tit.* 3. 1. *Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to Obey Magistrates.* When the thing is *lawfull* which they command, it must be *done*. Upon which account *tribute*, which they enjoyn, must be

be *paid* them: this being in no wiſe contrary to any of God's Laws; inſomuch that ſometimes we may pay it even to Uſurpers. And therefore as the Chriſtians at *Rome* did now pay it, ſo the Apoſtle commands them to continue in the ſame duty: *v. 6, 7. For this cauſe pay ye tribute.——Render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, cuſtom to whom cuſtom.* And he reckons it Rulers *due*, for that they are * *God's Miniſters, attending continually upon his ſervice*, government and the miniſtration of Juſtice. Upon which account alſo we are to *fear* and *honour* them: as he alſo commands in the ſame place, *Render fear to whom fear is due, honour to whom honour.* For neither is this in any wiſe contrary to the Law of God. * Verſ. 6.

But then if the *thing* which they command be *ſinfull*, we muſt *refuſe it*. As the Apoſtles themſelves have taught us by their own examples: † who being commanded by the Rulers of the Jews *to teach no more in the name of Jeſus*, *refuſed* to obey that command, telling them, that they *ought to obey God rather than men*, and *appealing* unto them whether this was not *right*. So when *Saul* commanded his footmen to *ſlay the innocent Prieſts*, * they *refuſed* to doe it, becauſe it was *wicked*. And when *Nebuchadnezzar* commanded that all ſhould *worſhip the Golden Image* which he had ſet up, *Shadrach*, *Meſhach* and *Abednego* told him, † *they would not ſerve his Gods, nor worſhip the Image.* And when *Darius* with his Preſidents, Governours, Princes, Counſellours and Captains had made a Royal Statute, that *no one ſhould ask any petition of any God or Man, ſave of Himſelf, for thirty days*, * *Daniel* notwithſtanding *pray'd to the Lord as he was wont to doe.* † *Act.* 4. 19. & 5. 29. * 1 *Sam.* 22. 17. † *Dan.* 3. 18. * C. 6. 10.

But though the *ſinfull thing* may not be *done*, yet the *Rulers* muſt not be *reſiſted*, otherwiſe than by *prayers* and tears, *intreaty* and perſuaſion, *reaſoning* and diſcourſe, *reproof* and admonition: *Arms* muſt not be taken up againſt them, and war waged with them upon this account; but their *penalties* muſt be ſubmitted to, and their injuries born with *patience*, *peace* and *meekneſs*. And thus are they indeed *obeyed*, by *ſubmitting* to them; thus *ſubjection* is paid them, by *yielding* to their power and authority. As wives are ſubject to their husbands, children and ſervants obey, the one their parents, the other their maſters, *in all things* († as it is commanded them) when what is *lawfull* they *doe* at their command, and *refuſing* what is *unlawfull*, they patiently *ſubmit* to their pleaſure; and though they *puniſh* them for their refuſal, do not reſiſt with *blows*, and caſt off their yoke by *force*. And *thus* to be *ſubject*, ſo as not to *reſiſt*, † *Col.* 3. 18, 20, 22.

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is the meaning of our Text. For it immediately follows thus, *Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God: and they that resist*, &c.

3. We must next consider the *Extent* and latitude of the Commandment, *Let every soul be subject*. As the *Jews* say *every soul*, so *we* say *every body*: and the meaning both of them and us is *every man*. Forasmuch then as *every man* is to be subject to the Higher Powers, it is undeniable that *no one* of what rank and quality soever is *exempt* from their jurisdiction: no *Christian* (for to *such* the Apostle writes) not the greatest *Saint*, not the eminentest *Doctor*, not the *Apostles* themselves; who as they gave the Precept to others, so most certainly held *themselves bound* to perform the same. And what can be more manifest than that *one* as well as *other*, *Clergy* as well as *people*, living in the same Kingdom, are *Subjects* of the same *Secular Powers* there? and being *Subjects*, must be *subject* to them? St. *Peter* hath determined the case, * when he reckons the *King Supreme Governour*: and St. *Paul* also, † who here calls Rulers that *bear the Sword*, the *Higher Powers*. *These* he requires *every soul* to be subject to: of these he speaks again so universally, *Whosoever resisteth*, &c. Be he then Priest or Pastor, Cardinal or Kirk-man, Legat or Pope that doth so, he *offendeth*, and incurreth the *punishment* threatned, *They shall receive to themselves damnation.*

* 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14.
† Vers. 4.

Having thus given you an exact account of the Apostle's injunction, God's Commandment by his Servant: The first thing which I shall consider is,

1. Whether the Apostle means we should be subject to *evil* Powers, and not resist *such* by force of arms. Here the Seditious and Rebellious always take *shelter*, saying, The Rulers oppress, persecute, govern illegally, command what God forbids, and forbid what God commands. * This they *pretend* whether it be so or not. This they will say, and feign as much abuse and tyranny, and contrive their story as plausible and seemingly true as their wit can devise: for that otherwise they would be utterly condemned of all men for raising War, which is so great a plague to a Nation, and for resisting honest and good Rulers, which is gross profaneness; neither would they have any hope of gaining the people unto their assistance, nor of obtaining their design, which is spoil and rapine, riches and honour, dominion and greatness, and perhaps revenge of some petty injuries. It ought to be

* *Nos non imperium, nec divitias petimus, sed libertatem.*

Libertas & speciosa nomina prætexuntur; nec quisquam alienum servitium & dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.

be considered very carefully, whether this which they pretend be *true*; for oftentimes it is but fiction and a lie, as their professions also of Reformation are oft mere hypocrisie.

They groan when they feel no burthen, and report strange things, which no one sees, nor knows, nor themselves believe, because they would rebel: and from the same lust they can call those *Papists*, whom they know the *Pope* for not being Papists damns for *Hereticks*: can preach the *danger* of thousands of souls eternal destruction by the prevailing of the *Roman* Religion, and yet believe all that perish *would* have perished, though the same had *not prevailed*: can preach the *Parliament Supreme* to justifie their War against their King, and yet when the play is ended, and Law may judge, would not for all they are worth want the *King's Pardon*. Our late Sovereign was accused of being *Popishly affected*, and of *ruling tyrannically, illegally, arbitrarily*: who yet was such a *Papist* as to require of his Subjects the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, which is the absolute *renouncing* of the Pope's authority; and such a Papist again as to worship God according to the *Church of England*, whose *Liturgy*, *Articles*, *Homilies*, *Canons* speak all positively and fully *against Popery*: who was such a *Tyrant*, *illegal* and *arbitrary* Governour as to rule by the *Laws*, to fear to act in any particular contrary to them (taking advice therefore of the *Judges*) and to make conscience of oppressing, and to suffer every one to enjoy his own. But such Defenders of our *Laws*, *Liberties* and *Properties* were the *Grandees* his enemies, as to bring us into a liberty of paying grievous *Taxes* 18 years together, to sequester *Loyalists* estates, to make *Laws*, and impose *Oaths* and *Covenants*, to raise *Armies*, and to seise *Forts*, *Ports* and *Navy*, to usurp and command the *Militia*, to make *War* and *Peace* with foreign Nations, to coin *Money*, to alter the *Service* and *Government* of the Church, to sequester the *King's Revenues*, to *try* him for his life, and to *cut off* his head, all by *arbitrary*, their sole power, without His authority and assent, and *contrary* to his Command, contrary to our established *Laws* and Government*.

——*Quoties vis fallere plebem, Finge Deum.*

But be the pretence *true*, this however I shall shew doth not *warrant* Subjects to wage War against their Rulers. For as the Apostle speaks of Powers *without restriction*, whether good or bad: so the Command, *Be subject to them*, *Resist them not*, admits not of any, any more than these the like Commands,

* *See* Prynne's *Collect. of Fundament. Rights*. P. 52. to 62. Dr. Langbain's *Review of the Covenant*. p. 50. to 55. p. 80. to 84. p. 88, &c. Fowlis *Hist. Presb.* l. 2. c. 1. l. 3. c. 3.

* *Wives*,

* Eph. 5. & 6. Col. 3. * *Wives, be ſubject to your Husbands in every thing: Children, obey your Parents in all things: Servants, obey in all things your Maſters.* And will any one ſay the Apoſtle means only *good* Husbands, Parents, Maſters, and not at all the *bad?* Go to then, ye Servants, Wives, Children, and with authority *beat* your froward Maſters, Husbands, Parents. But if this ſhould be our Rebels caſe, I ſuppoſe they would judge the treatment *undecent* and *profane*; and though they have *deſerved* it for their frowardneſs, and may thank themſelves for what they ſuffer, yet will ſay, theſe Servants, Wives, Children have *fallen* from the honour, fear and reverence, ſubjection and obedience which they *owe* them. St. *Paul* ſays, † *The husband is the head of the wife: therefore let the wives be ſubject.* And are not *evil* husbands heads? Let the King's enemies judge. But St. *Peter* ſays expreſly, * *Ye wives, be in ſubjection to your husbands, that if any obey not the word, they alſo may without the word be won by the converſation of the wives.* Theſe that *obeyed not the word*, theſe that were *Heathens*, were *bad* husbands enough. Likewiſe † *Servants*, ſays he, *be ſubject to your Maſters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but alſo to the froward.* And ſuch froward ones he means that *afflict* them for their *conſcience toward God*, and for *well-doing:* as by the following words appears, *For this is thank-worthy, if a man for conſcience toward God, endure grief, ſuffering wrongfully. If when ye doe well, and ſuffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.* From whence alſo it is manifeſt, that he requires theſe innocent abuſed perſons to be ſo ſubject as not to *reſiſt* violence with *violence*, but only *patiently* and *peaceably* to take the wrong; like our *Saviour*, whoſe example he there propounds, * *Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he ſuffered, threatned not.* And as Children, Wives and Servants ought to behave themſelves thus ſubmiſſively to their rigid and unrighteous Parents, Husbands and Maſters: ſo ought *Subjects* to behave themſelves, no one can doubt, after the ſame manner to their alike *evil Rulers* †.

† Eph. 5. 23, 24.

* 1 Pet. 3. 1.

† C. 2. 18.

* V. 21. 23.

To make this matter yet more clear, let us conſider whether the *preſent* Powers were not *evil*; for *theſe* doth St. *Paul* more particu-

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† Calv. Inſt. l. 4. c. 20. §. 29. *At mutuos (inquis) ſubditis ſuis vices debent præfecti. Verùm ſi ex eo ſtatuis, nonniſi* juſtis *imperiis rependenda obſequia, inſultus ex rationator. Nam Parentes liberos moroſitate ſua* ultra modum *fatigent; Mariti ſuas uxores* contumelioſiſſimè *accipiant: an minus tamen & Parentibus liberi, & Conjugibus mulieres* obſequentes *erunt? At* improbis *quoque & inofficioſis ſubjiciuntur.*

larly

larly mean: for to whom ſhould he command the Chriſtians *at Rome* to be ſubject, but to the Rulers *there?* or to whom *could* they at *preſent* pay ſubjection, but to *them?* His words moreover plainly ſhew, * that they are thoſe to whom they *now paid tribute.* And St. *Peter* delivering the ſame Precept, expreſly names the *King* and *Governours ſent out by him.* Now theſe were *Heathens* (the Government not coming into *Chriſtian* hands till *Conſtantine*'s time, which was 250 years after:) and they were *Idolaters* and *Maintainers* of that abomination, and *Perſecutors* of the Chriſtians: Of whoſe ſufferings we reade in theſe very *Epiſtles.* Rom. 12. 12, 14. *Be patient in tribulation: bleſs them that perſecute you.* 1 Pet. 1. 6. *Ye are in heavineſs through manifold temptations.* C. 4. 12. *Think it not ſtrange concerning the fiery tryal which is to try you.* C. 5. 9. *Know that the ſame afflictions are accompliſhed in your brethren that are in the world.* And ſo we reade they ſuffered * at *Corinth*, † at *Philippi*, * at *Theſſalonica*, † at *Jeruſalem* and in all *Judea.* To *whom* it muſt needs be ſaid the ſame Commandment of ſubjection *belonged*, as well as to their brethren and fellow-ſufferers at *Rome*, and in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Capadocia*, *Aſia* and *Bithynia.* Thus ſuffered the * *Apoſtles* themſelves, and *knew* that as the Chriſtians were already, † ſo they would be *afterwards* perſecuted by Rulers, *when* they gave this Commandment of *non-reſiſtence.*

* Verſ. 6, 7.

* 1 Cor. 1. 6, 7. † Phil. 1. 29, 30. * 2 Th. 1. 4. † Heb. 10. 32, 33, 34. Act. 4. & 5, & 7, & 8, & 12. * Rev. 2. 10, 35, 36.

1 Cor. 4. 9, &c. 2 Cor. 4. 8, 9. & 6. 4. 4, 5. & 11. 23. † 1 Pet. 4. 17. 2 Tim. 3. 12. Mat. 10. 34, 35. & 24. 9.

But ſome may object, that St. *Paul* ſays *v.* 4. *Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil:* and therefore means, that the Chriſtians ſhould be ſubject to, and not reſiſt ſuch only as *rule well* and *fulfill* their *office.* *Anſ.* I have clearly ſhewed that he means the *preſent* Rulers, and that theſe were *idolaters* and *injurious:* and therefore this cannot be his meaning. But this he ſays, Rulers are ordained of God *for good*, and *generally* they ſo *act*; though there be ſeveral *defects* and *corruptions:* (for what *Laws* of any Kingdom are all *perfect?* or what *Adminiſtration* of them is *without fault?*) In every Nation we find they ſuppreſs Sedition, and conſerve Peace; puniſh Murtherers, Thieves, Adulterers, Perjured perſons; end Controverſies, and diſtribute Juſtice betwixt man and man. Wherefore ſince they are ordained of *God*, and ordained for *good*, and good they *doe* in the world, for the *authority* which God hath given them, and for the *benefit* which the world receives

by them, *Let every ſoul of you be ſubject to them, let none of you reſiſt them*, even the *preſent* Powers, *idolaters* and your *enemies*. † This is plainly the Apoſtle's mind; and not that they might take up arms againſt *Cæſar* and the *Officers under him*, becauſe they were *evil*. St. *Peter* ſpeaks it moſt clearly, *Submit your ſelves to the King, and to the Governours ſent out by him for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that doe well.* Was it for the puniſhment of *evil doers*, when they were ſometime ſent forth to puniſh Chriſtians for their *Chriſtianity*, for not worſhiping their *falſe gods* and obſerving their impious *ſuperſtitions*? And was it for the praiſe of them that *did well*, when they were ſent forth to encourage and defend *Idolaters* in their *Idolatry*? Beſides there were ſeveral *other* evils which according to their received authority they were to *promote* and *execute*; for who dare ſay Heathens Laws and Commands were *all good* and juſt? But yet *good* they *did*, and not a *little* by their Government, as their Conſtitutions and Miniſtrations witneſs: and therefore the Apoſtles ſay, *Be ſubject to them.* For I may add, that if they were not to be ſubject to ſuch that were to *ſome* good works a terror, and to *ſome* evil not a terror; to ſuch that were *injurious* to them, and even to their *Heathen* ſubjects alſo, in *ſome* things, and that both *civil* and *religious*; they were then to be ſubject to *none at preſent*, there being at preſent none *without* theſe faults: and ſo the Commandment would ſignifie at preſent juſt *nothing* to them: which is *monſtrous.*

And now we muſt not forget, that this Command is not delivered unto *Heathens*, who if by reſiſting they ſhould conquer, would yet ſtill *maintain* their *Idolatry*, and *perſecute Chriſtians*: but to *Chriſtians*, who if they ſhould get the ſupreme Power into their hands, would make a glorious *reformation*, eſtabliſhing in the Empire by Sanction of Law the *Goſpel* of Chriſt in the room of Ethniciſm. For the effecting of which great good they muſt not rebel: according to the general doctrine, * *We muſt not doe evil that good may come.*

* *Rom.* 3. 8.

And this is the ſenſe of the *Primitive Church*: this was their

† Calvin, *Comment.* in locum. *A vero officio Magiſtratus tametſi non raro degenerant qui principatum tenent, nihilominus deferenda eſt illis* obedientia *quæ Principibus debetur.* —— *Hic docet in quem* finem *inſtituti ſint à Domino Magiſtratus.* —— *Quanquam ne ſic quidem unquam abſtinuntur ſua poteſtate Principes, bonos innocentesque vexando, ut non in ſua tyrannide ſpeciem aliquam juſtæ dominationis retineant: nulla ergo tyrannis eſſe poteſt, quæ non aliqua ex parte* ſubſidio *ſit ad tuendam hominum ſocietatem.*

Practice

Practice, and this was their *Doctrine* alſo. As *Tertullian* (who lived but 150 years after) witneſſeth: who writing unto the *Roman* Heathen Magiſtrates, tells them in the name of all his brethren, that though they unjuſtly and moſt grievouſly perſecuted them for their Piety and Religion alone, and no evil, yet they would not take up arms againſt them, though they were *able* to doe it, for that their *Religion forbad* them. Whoſe words are theſe, (a) *Ye kill the Chriſtians on croſſes and ſtakes, ye tear their ſides with hooks; we are thrown to the beaſts, we are burned in the fire, we are condemned to the Mines, we are baniſhed into Iſlands.* —*We always pray for all Emperors, that God would give them a long life, a ſecure Empire, a ſafe houſe, valiant Armies, a loyal Senate, faithfull People, a quiet World, and whatſoever any man or Cæſar himſelf can deſire.* —(b) *In Emperors we adore the Counſel of God, who hath ſet them over the Nations. We know that to be in them which God wills: and therefore what God wills, we pray the ſame may be ſafe and proſperous.* —*But why ſpeak I any more of the Piety and Religion of Chriſtians to the Emperor, whom we muſt needs honour, as one that our Lord hath choſen? ſo that I may juſtly ſay, Cæſar is rather Ours, as being conſtituted by our God; and therefore being mine, I doe the more for his welfare.* —(c) *We are the ſame to Emperors as to our neighbours; for to wiſh, to doe, to ſpeak, to think ill of any one whoever, is alike forbidden us. What we may not doe againſt the Emperor, neither may we doe againſt any one; and what we may doe to no one, much rather perhaps may we not doe to* Him (d) *who is ſo Great by God. If we are commanded to love our enemies, who then remains for us to hate? If when we are hurt, we are forbidden to repay the like, whom then can we hurt?* (*) *God forbid we ſhould avenge our ſelves by private fire. If we*

(a) *Apol. c.* 12, &c. Crucibus & ſtipitibus, &c.

(b) *Ib. c.* 33. Nos judicium Dei ſuſpicimus in Imperatoribus, qui gentibus illos præfecit. Id in iis ſcimus eſſe, quod Deus voluit: ideoque & ſalvum volumus eſſe quod Deus voluit. Sed quid ego amplius de religione atque pietate Chriſtiana in Imperatorem? quem neceſſe eſt ſuſpiciamus, ut eum quem Dominus Noſter elegit: ut merito dixerim, *Noſter* eſt magis Cæſar, ut à Noſtro Deo conſtitutus: itaque ut *meo* plus ego illi operor in ſalutem.

(c) *Ib. c.* 36, 37.

(d) ——qui per Deum tantus eſt.

(*) Abſit ut igni humano vindicetur Divina Secta. Si hoſtes exertos agere vellemus, deeſſet nobis vis numerorum & copiarum? ——Veſtra omnia implevimus, urbes, inſulas, caſtella, municipia, conciliabula, caſtra ipſa, tribus, decurias, Palatium, Senatum, forum. Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuiſſemus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamur? Si non apud iſtam diſciplinam magis occidi liceret quàm occidere.——Nunc pauciores hoſtes habetis præ multitudine Chriſtianorum, penè omnium civium, penè omnes cives Chriſtianos habendo.

would ſhew our ſelves open enemies, ſhould we want number and forces? We have filled all your places, your Cities, Iſlands, Caſtles, Corporations, Conſiſtories, your very Camps, Tribes, Decuries, the Palace, the Senate, the Common Court. What war ſhould we not be fit for and very forward unto, yes though unequal in forces, who ſo freely part with our lives, if our Religion did not require us rather to be killed than to kill? ——Now your enemies are the fewer for the multitude of Chriſtians, as ſuch now are almoſt all your Citizens. And writing to *Scapula* an Heathen Preſident in *Africa*, he ſays the ſame, (f) *You perſecute us with all your rage.——We are defamed as to the Majeſty of the Emperor, and yet never were the Chriſtians Rebels, as ſeveral of your own Religion have been,* Albinus, Niger, Caſſius.——*A Chriſtian is no mans enemy, much leſs the Emperor's, whom, as knowing him to be conſtituted of God, he muſt neceſſarily love, reverence, honour and wiſh well, with the whole* Roman *Empire, ſo long as the world ſhall endure. We therefore do worſhip the Emperor ſo as is lawfull for us and fit for him, as a man next to God, and that what he is, hath obtained of God, and that is inferior to none but God.——It cannot but be manifeſt to you that we live according to the diſcipline of divine patience, whilſt being ſo great a multitude of men, almoſt the greater part of every City, we behave our ſelves with peace and ſubmiſſion.——God forbid that we ſhould contrive to avenge our ſelves of you, who expect God will puniſh you.——We render to no man evil for evil.*

After the ſame manner doth St. *Cyprian* (who lived about 50 years after *Tertullian*) write to *Demetrian*, an Heathen Proconſul likewiſe in *Africa*, and a Perſecutor of the Chriſtians: ſaying, *Men harmleſs, juſt, dear to God thou depriveſt of houſe and patrimony, ſhutteſt up in priſon, puniſheſt with beaſts, ſword, fire.——Not content*

(f) *C.* 2. Cum omni ſævitia veſtra concertamus.——Circa Majeſtatem Imperatoris infamamur, tamen nunquam *Albiniani*, nec *Nigriani*, nec *Caſſiani* inveniri potuerunt Chriſtiani.——Chriſtianus *nullius* eſt hoſtis, nedum *Imperatoris*, quem ſciens *à Deo ſuo conſtitui*, neceſſe eſt ut & ipſum diligat, & revereatur, & honoret, & ſalvum velit, cum toto Romano Imperio, quouſque ſeculum ſtabit.——Colimus ergo & Imperatorem ſic, quomodo & nobis licet, & ipſi expedit, ut hominem *à Deo ſecundum*, & quicquid eſt *à Deo conſtitutum*, & *ſolo Deo minorem*. ——Ex diſciplina patientiæ divinæ agere nos ſatis manifeſtum eſſe vobis poteſt, cum *tanta* hominum multitudo, pars penè *major* cujuſque civitatis, in *ſilentio* & *modeſtia* agimus.——Abſit ut *ultionem* à nobis aliquam machinemur, quam à Deo expectamus——Nulli malum pro malo reddimus.

with

with the uſual, thy ingenious cruelty invents new torments.—(g) *No one of us when he is apprehended, reſiſts, nor avengeth himſelf of your unjuſt violence, though our people are numerous and able to doe it.*—*We may not hate; and thus we pleaſe God the more, whilſt we retaliate no injury.*

But Mr. *Calvin*'s judgment may be of more account with ſome. Let us therefore hear what he ſaith in this matter. (h) *Some Princes violate all Laws and Privileges, miſerably oppreſs the people, kill the innocent,* &c. *Yet the word of God teacheth us to be ſubject to theſe.*—*In the worſt and moſt unworthy King that Divine Authority reſides, which God in his word hath given to righteous Magiſtrates: and therefore the Subjects are to have the ſame Reverence for him (as far as belongeth unto publick Obedience) as for the beſt King.*— * This ſhall * 1 *Sam.* 8. be the Right of the King that ſhall reign over you: He ſhall take 11.

(g) Nemo noſtrûm quando apprehenditur, *reluctatur*; nec ſe adverſus injuſtam violentiam veſtram, quamvis *nimius* & *copioſus* ſit noſter populus, ulciſcitur.—Odiſſe non licet nobis, & ſic Deo plus placemus, dum nullam pro injuria vicem reddimus.

(h) *Inſtit. l.* 4. *c.* 20. §. 24, 25. Principum alii jura omnia, privilegia, diplomata, venalia proſtituunt: alii plebeculam, &c. Verum ſi in Dei verbum reſpicimus, non eorum modò Principum *ſubditi ſumus*, qui, qua debent fide, munere ſuo erga nos defunguntur: ſed omnium qui quoquo modo rerum potiuntur, etiamſi nihil *minus* præſtent quàm quod *ex officio* erat Principum.—In homine *deterrimo* honoreque omni indigniſſimo, penes quem modo ſit publica poteſtas, præclara illa & *divina* poteſtas reſidet, quam Dominus *juſtitiæ* & judicii ſui *Miniſtris* verbo ſuo detulit: proinde à ſubditis *eadem* in reverentia & dignatione habendus, quantum ad *publicam obedientiam* attinet, qua *optimum* Regem, ſi daretur, habituri eſſent. §. 26. *Hoc jus erit regis, &c.* Certe non id *jure* facturi erant Reges, &c. ſed *jus in populum* vocabatur, cui parere ipſi *neceſſe* eſſet, nec obſiſtere *liceret*. §. 27. Hoc ſi nobis aſſiduè obſervetur eodem Decreto conſtitui etiam *nequiſſimos* Reges quo Regum *authoritas* ſtatuitur, nunquam in animum nobis *ſeditioſæ* illæ cogitationes venient, tractandum eſſe pro *meritis* Regem, nec æquum eſſe ut ſubditos ei præſtemus qui viciſſim Regem nobis non præſtet. §. 29. Hunc *reverentiæ* affectum debemus ad extremum Præfectis noſtris omnibus, *quales tandem cunque* ſint. Quod ſæpius ideo repeto, ut diſcamus non *homines* ipſos excutere, ſed ſatis habeamus, quòd eam, voluntate Domini, *perſonam* ſuſtineant cui *inviolabilem* majeſtatem impreſſit ipſe & inſculpſit.—Si à ſævo principe crudeliter torquemur, &c. Subeat primùm delictorum noſtrorum recordatio, quæ talibus haud dubiè Domini flagellis caſtigantur: inde humilitas *impatientiam* noſtram frænabit. §. 31. Nobis nullum aliud quam *parendi* & *patiendi* datum eſt mandatum. De *privatis* hominibus ſemper loquor. Nam ſiqui nunc ſint populares Magiſtratus ad *Moderandum* Regum libidinem *conſtituti*, adeo illos ferocienti Regum licentiæ pro *officio* intercedere non veto, ut ſi Regibus impotenter graſſantibus conniveant, eorum diſſimulationem nefaria *perfidia* non carere affirmem.

your

your Sons, &c. *Certainly this they could not doe by Right of God's Law, which commands Kings to rule better: but it is called a Right over the People, which they ſhould neceſſarily obey, and which it ſhould not be lawfull for them to reſiſt.*——*If we did always remember, that the worſt Kings are appointed by the ſame Decree that the Authority of Kings is ordained, theſe ſeditious thoughts would never riſe in us, that Kings are to be treated according to their deſerts, and we are not bound to perform the duty of Subjects to them who perform not the duty of Kings unto us.*——*This affection of reverence we owe to all our Rulers, whether good or bad, until death. We are not to conſider the men: it is enough for us, that by the will of God they are Magiſtrates, on whom God hath impreſſed an Inviolable Majeſty.*——*If a cruel Prince torment us, if a covetous rob us, if an impious perſecute us for our piety, let us then remember our ſins, which without doubt God thus puniſhes: and ſo our humility will curb our impatience.*——*We are commanded only to obey and ſuffer.* Thus he condemns all *private* mens riſing againſt their Governours, though they be *moſt tyrannical:* And only adds, that *if any Popular Magiſtrates are conſtituted by the Laws of a Kingdom for the reſtraining of the King's licentiouſneſs, they ought according to their office to curb him when he grows extravagant and tyrannical.* So that where there are *no* ſuch Magiſtrates, and yet where there *are*, when thoſe Magiſtrates *conſent* with the King in his licentiouſneſs and tyranny, there (according to Mr. *Calvin*) no forceable reſiſtance ought to be made by the Subjects. And as for *our ſelves*, * our *King* is *exempt* from puniſhment, nor may our *Parliament levy War* againſt him in *any caſe*, only his *ill Adviſers* and the *Executioners* of his oppreſſion are puniſhable; who may be called to account by our *Parliament*, † which is to convene *once in three years*, and *oftener* if *need* be.

* See the *Statutes*, afterwards cited, *p.* 34, 35.

† *Stat.* 16. *Car.* 2. *c.* 1.

But ſome not content with all this, will ſtill ſay, 'Muſt we be 'abuſed, and not *right* our ſelves? Muſt *God* and *Religion* ſuffer, and 'we ſit with our hands in our *pockets?* And I ſay, would ye be *fighting?* How ill doth it become a Chriſtian to be a man of fury and *revenge*, of *blood* and war? If for *conſcience* ſake and *well-doing* ye ſuffer, and take it *patiently*, *happy* are ye: this is your *glory*, and *great is your reward in heaven.* But if ye *rebel*, what doe ye *more than others?* where is your *patience?* where is your *glory?* where is your *reward?* and what indeed is your *Religion?* Let God alone to maintain his own cauſe in his *own* way: who will certainly doe it without ſeditious inſurrections, by a ſpirit of patience, meekneſs, juſtice and righteouſneſs, in ſpite of the proudeſt and greateſt that war againſt him: will defend his truth, and exalt his Church, and bring

Sanguis Martyrum ſemen Eccleſiæ.—Trucidabantur, & multiplicabantur.

bring down wicked powers, or turn their hearts, whilſt his holy ſervants, notwithſtanding their afflictions, continue in their duty to Him and Men, making their humble and ardent prayers to him, and truſting in his Power, Goodneſs and Promiſe. For thus is it written, * *The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open unto their cry. The face of the Lord is againſt them that doe evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. The righteous cry, and the Lord heareth, and delivereth them out of all their troubles.——Evil ſhall ſlay the wicked, and they that hate the righteous, ſhall be deſolate.* † *Yet a little while, and the wicked ſhall not be.——The tranſgreſſors ſhall be deſtroyed.* * *Shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night to him, though he bear long with them? I tell you that he will avenge them ſpeedily.*

* *Pſal.* 34. 15, &c.

† *Pſal.* 37.

* *Luk.* 18. 7.

And I would have all thoſe that are ſo prone to arms for the caſting down of wicked Powers, and pretend ſuch zeal for God and Religion, ask themſelves in ſincerity, whether their *hearts* be *right*, and their *lives honeſt*: whether they be *humble*, *patient*, *content*: whether they deſign no *ſecular advantage*, no wealth, no dominion, no honour or popular fame to themſelves, but purely the advancement of piety and the glory of God: whether they are not *criminal*, and as *much* as their *Rulers*. For I am much miſtaken if there be not ſuch Zealots, and more than a few, that are in *exceſs revengefull*, *ambitious*, *cenſorious*, *liars*, *defamers*, *lovers of this world* and of *carnal pleaſures*, *drunkards* and *adulterers*: may I not ſay, *almoſt Atheiſts*? And let them calmly conſider again, Whether their *Remedy* be not *worſe* than the *Diſeaſe*, *War* worſe than an *ill Prince*. For now the very *Devil* ſeems to be broken looſe from his Chains, and freely to domineer in the Land: *Hatred* rages in the breaſts of men, and *lies* are daily coined to ſerve the Cauſe: the Father *fights* againſt the Son, and one neighbour *reviles* and *betrays* another: honeſt Matrons and chaſt Virgins are *raviſhed*, Cities and Noble buildings turned into *aſhes*, many *plundered* of their Goods in an hour, which with long labour and much care they had honeſtly gotten, and many deprived of the ancient inheritance of their Family: grievous *taxes* are impoſed, and muſt be born, and a company of *lewd* and *idle* fellows maintained: *Nobles* are deſpiſed and affronted; the *Loyal* maligned, menaced, and vilely treated; the peaceable horribly *affrighted* with ſad rumors and the rude behaviour of Ruffian Soldiers: and finally, hundreds and thouſands are *ſlain* ſuddenly in the battels, and ſuch as need a longer time for *repentance* and *amendment*, the moſt profane and profligate, who

of

of all are moſt *unfit* to die. Theſe ſad things we have ſeen in the time of Rebellion: and in the ſame caſe we muſt expect the ſame again *. And I pray you tell me faithfully, Whether all theſe *evils* be not *worſe* than what our Male-contents complain of, *Prelacy* and *Liturgy* I may name, the common grievances: whether not *more grievous* than † a *Biſhop* and our *Service-Book*, a *Surplice*, *Holy-days*, baptizing in *Fonts* and *where* now they ſtand, the *Sign* of the *Croſs*, *Godfathers*, Marrying with a *Ring*, *Reading* before the *Corps*, *Kneeling* at the Lord's Supper. I do not appeal to *anger* and *malice*, *ambition* and *avarice*, *preſumption* and *ſelf-will* (which lurk in nature, and which I know will give *perverſe* judgment:) but to *piety* and the *fear of God* begotten in your hearts by his Holy Spirit. Not *this*, but *ſomething elſe* ſure it was, that ſpake by the *Preacher's* lips in our late Troubles theſe ſtrange words, * *The removal of the impoſitions of Prelatical innovations, Altar-genuflexions, and Cringings and Croſſings, and all that Popiſh traſh and trumpery, countervails for the Blood and Treaſure ſhed and ſpent in theſe late Diſtractions.* Well, let them not ſtrain at a *Gnat*, and ſwallow a *Camel*; refuſe our *Liturgy*, and raiſe *War* againſt their *King*: like the *Phariſees*, that would not eat with *unwaſht* hands, nor with *uncircumciſed Gentiles*, *Publicans* and *Sinners*, nor *touch* them, leſt they ſhould be *defiled*; and that condemned our Saviour for *healing*, and his Diſciples for *plucking the ears of corn* on the *Sabbath-day*: and yet were full of *exceſs* and *pride*, and *devoured Widows houſes*, and *killed* the *Prophets*, and the *Holy Jeſus*.

* *Veſtigia terrent.*

† See *The Directory.* —— *Non tanti eſt Civilia bella moveri.*

* *Jenkins's* Sermon before the *Commons*, *Sept.* 24. 1656. p. 23.

Whether the froward minds of men will accept it or not, I cannot but preſcribe Subjects a *better* remedy againſt injurious Governours than *War* and *Rebellion*: and that is, what before was mentioned, *patient ſuffering*, *an holy life*, *fervent prayer*, *truſt in God*. For God will either *here deliver* his people out of their troubles, whilſt they *fret not themſelves in any wiſe to doe evil*; or if he ſuffer them to continue in them and die by them, will abundantly *recompence* them in the *other world*. This was the mind of *Shadrach*, *Meſhach* and *Abednego*: † *Our God* (ſay they) *whom we ſerve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thy hand, O King: but if not, we will not ſerve thy Gods.* And what was the event? * God did *preſerve* them in the midſt of the fire, and moreover ſo *changed* the King's *heart*, that the King *promoted* them in the Province of *Babylon*, and alſo made a *decree*, that *whoſoever ſhould ſpeak any thing againſt their God, ſhould be cut in pieces, and their houſes be made a dunghil*. This mind was in *David*:

† Dan. 3.17. 18.

* V. 27, &c.

* *Who*

* *Who* (ſays he) *can ſtretch forth his hand againſt the Lord's Anointed and be guiltleſs? The Lord forbid that I ſhould doe it. The Lord ſhall ſmite him, or his day ſhall come to die, or he ſhall deſcend into the battel and periſh.* And it came to paſs, † that *Saul* in his fight with the *Philiſtins*, being wounded, *took a ſword and fell upon it*, and ſo periſhed. And thus *David* was *freed* of his Perſecutor, * and was preſently after *anointed King*. And this ſame mind was alſo in *Chriſt Jeſus*: † *Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he ſuffered, threatned not: but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly.* And God likewiſe pleaded his cauſe: who, though he ſuffered him to *fall* by the hand of his enemies, * yet *raiſed* him from the grave, and *ſet him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, and gave him to be head over all things.* And if we † *ſuffer with him*, we are aſſured that we ſhall alſo *reign with him*; and if we *lay down our life for him*, that we ſhall *receive* it again with *advantage, eternal life.* And * when we are perſecuted, reviled and hated *for righteouſneſs ſake*, we are pronounced *bleſſed* and *happy*, and are bid to *rejoice*, to *leap for joy* and to be *exceeding glad*, and to *glorifie God on this behalf*; *for that the Spirit of Glory and of God reſteth upon us*, and the *Kingdom of Heaven is ours*, and our *reward* there is *great*, an *exceeding eternal weight of glory.* If this will not ſatisfie us, but we will *take the Sword*, † is it not *juſt* that we *periſh by the Sword?* We are commanded to *take up the Croſs and follow Chriſt*, to *endure afflictions*, to be *patient in tribulation*, and *not avenge our ſelves.* And after all this have we learned Chriſt no better than to *fight*, and that againſt our *Rulers*, rather than *ſuffer for well-doing?* to embroil a Nation in bloody *War*, rather than for the *Kingdom of God* bear *impriſonment* and *loſs of goods?* to take away the *lives* of *thouſands*, rather than quietly lay down our *own* for the *Goſpel?* What *glory*, what *joy* is it, to be crucified for *Treaſon?* What *Martyrdom* this? Chriſt ſuffering and dying under *Pontius Pilate without reſiſtance*, and Chriſtians *warring* and *rebelling* againſt their evil Governours, what a *contradiction!*

* 1 *Sam.* 26. 9, 10, 11.
† 1 *Sam.* 31. 4.
* 2 *Sam.* 2. 1. 4.
† 1 *Pet.* 2. 23.
* *Eph.* 1. 20, 21.
† 1 *Tim.* 2. 12.
Joh. 12. 25.
* *Matth.* 5. 10, *&c.* 2 *Pet.* 4. 13, *&c.* 2 *Cor.* 4. 8, 17.
† *Matth.* 26. 52.

This Doctrine of quiet and ſubmiſſive patience and non-reſiſtance cannot be interpreted a *defence* of Rulers oppreſſion, unleſs by perverſe *malice*; nor an *encouragement* of them to this wickedneſs, any more than the *Goſpel*, which (as we have ſeen) commands it, and the *Primitive Fathers*, who (as we have alſo ſeen) taught it. Nor can any think I have now ſpoken this,

as if I judged *our Prince oppreſſes*, or *feared he will*; unleſs he think me ſo extravagant as to judge, that to rule only by our eſtabliſhed *Laws* is to oppreſs: which we all ſee he doth, and which he hath aſſured us, ſince his Coronation-Oath (which obligeth to the ſame,) by his Royal word, * that *in all things he ever will.* And whilſt thus he governs, even *J. Milton*, our late good King's heavy friend, affirms, † That *the Subject, if he hold the thing to be unlawfull which by Law is commanded, ought not to reſiſt, but to ſubmit to the penalty which the Law impoſes: and in this caſe to riſe againſt the King, is to renounce Allegiance to him, and is an actual and total depoſing of him.* No, the deſign is to prevent the horrid *ſin* of Rebellion, and the multifarious *miſchiefs* of a Civil War. Whether our King be more prone to oppreſſion, or his people to rebellion, let the preſent ſtate of affairs witneſs, let the Male-contents ſpeak, if from their hearts they'l ſpeak. When He proves a *Tyrant*, I dare ſay, Reſiſt; as being confident his Nature is ſo gentle, and his Wiſedom ſo great, that he never will rule ſo barbarouſly, and give ſuch provocation to the factious multitude, ſo expoſe himſelf to War, and ſo hazard his Crown and Life. But then by a *Tyrant*, I mean not one that is *called* ſo by *enemies*, or by the *ignorant*, by an ambitious and diſcontented, a wanton and ſeditious company, or by a whole Nation of ſuch men; (as remembring our late Sovereign was ſo ſlandred, whoſe Tyranny was *Law* and *Clemency*, as his imputed Popery was true *Proteſtantiſm*, and his ſuſpected vice *Piety*:) Nor yet mean I one that *once* or *twice* acts illegally: but (* as enemies themſelves have defined) one who rules either *wholly* or in *great part* contrary to the Laws, and continually oppreſſes *grievouſly*, nor will be *perſuaded* from his frowardneſs, injuſtice and cruelty.

And they that rule thus inhumanly, cannot but expect (as the world now is) mutiny, oppoſition and rebellion: For as Chriſtianity hath not made *Governours*, which are but *few*, what

* *Declar.* 1681. p. 6. & 9.

† *Tenure of Kings*, p. 33.

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* Ten. of Kings, p. 19. *A Tyrant is he who regarding neither Law nor the Common good, reigns only for himſelf and his faction.* The Author de Jure Magiſtr. p. 440. *Tyrannidis individuus comes eſt obſirmata malignitas, quæ ad ſtatum publicum legeſque evertendas totis viribus enititur.* Buchanan, de Jure Regni, p. 35. *Tyrannus, qui gregem ſibi commiſſum exiſtimat non ad cuſtodiam, ſed ad quæſtum.*

they

they *ſhould* be: ſo neither *Subjects* eſpecially, which are *numerous*. And *ſin* beſides *provokes God* to puniſh: who ſuffering the rebellious to act according to the evil of their heart, uſes them as *ſcourges* for the chaſtiſement of Rulers offences. And if they do receive violence for violence, rebellion for tyranny, they may *thank themſelves*, and cannot but acknowledge they have *deſerved* it; *themſelves* they muſt blame for their ungodly oppreſſion, as well as their *Subjects* for their ungodly oppoſition. But there is ſomewhat more for them to fear than the wrath of unruly *men*, the wrath of the Holy and Almighty *God*: who hates iniquity in all, and will in the laſt day judge *without reſpect of perſons*, rendring to *every one according to his deeds*, tribulation and anguiſh to all that work evil, both Kings and Subjects. And *worſe* is it (who can ſay *how much* worſe?) to be deprived by the Divine Juſtice of the Kingdom of *Heaven* and *Eternal life*, and to be carried by Devils into the *Infernal* priſons, and there *tormented for ever in fire and brimſtone*, than to be impriſoned by ſeditious men in a *Caſtle* or *Common Gaol*, and there *mocked* and contemned, and to be deprived of an *earthly* Kingdom and *temporal* life. And as the one for *reſiſting* ſhall receive to themſelves *damnation*, ſo ſhall the other for *oppreſſing* receive the *ſame*, without *repentance*; and repentance there is *none* without *amendment*.

Wiſd. 6. 3. *Becauſe being Miniſters of his Kingdoms, ye have not judged aright, --horribly ſhall he come upon you.---Mighty men ſhall be mightily tormented*, &c.

I may here recite what St. *Cyprian* ſaid to the forementioned *Demetrianus*, the evil *Africk* Governour, and to the reſt of the *vicious* and *cruel* Heathens under him, who complained of the *Chriſtians* as the *cauſe* of all the miſeries that befell them. * *Inter ipſa adverſa*, &c. *In the midſt of the adverſities, in which the ſtraitned ſoul can ſcarce breathe, ye yet find liberty enough to be wicked, and in ſo great dangers judge of others, but not of your ſelves. Ye are angry that God is angry, as if ye deſerved good by doing evil, as if all the miſeries that befall you, were not leſs and lighter than your impieties. Thou who judgeſt others, be judge ſometimes of thy ſelf; view the receſſes of thy conſcience, and who art clearly ſeen of all, ſee thy ſelf.---Doſt thou wonder that the anger of God increaſes, for the puniſhment of men, when that increaſes daily which is puniſhed?---The truth is this which the Prophet delivers, that God can reſtrain adverſities, but the crimes of ſinners are the cauſe that he doth not help.* 'Is God's hand '(*ſays he*) weak, that he cannot ſave? or is his ear heavy, that 'he cannot hear? But your ſins ſeparate betwixt you and God:

* Ad Demetr.

' and becauſe of your iniquities he turneth his face from you,
' and will not pity.—*As if it were a light thing, that your life is de-*
filed with variety of raging vices, with the iniquity of lamentable crimes,
with all bloody rapines, that true Religion is ſubverted by falſe ſuperſtiti-
ons, that God is not ſought nor feared at all: ye worry the ſervants of
God with unjuſt perſecutions.—Not by us, but for us do all thoſe things
happen which deſcend from the divine indignation.—In the terrible day
of judgment will the wicked ſay, What doth our pomp and the glory of our
riches profit us? all thoſe things are gone as a ſhadow. Then repentance,
ſorrow, weeping, praying will be fruitleſs and avail nothing. Provide
therefore for your welfare whilſt ye may.—Believe [convert] *and live,*
and you who for a time make us ſad, rejoice with us for ever.

Thus may Prince and People be *happy*, if they will be *holy*, doing their duty each to other, and both to God. But when ſin abounds, judgment breaks forth like a *whirl-wind*, we know not how: and that, if it reforms us not in *this* life, in the *other* changes upon us into *eternal* burnings.

2. Let us now ſee the *Black Deed of the day*. Which being worſe than *fighting* againſt *evil* Powers, the *killing* of a *good* and *pious* Prince, a *juſt* and *legal* Ruler, ſwells the guilt into a monſtrous bigneſs. Our Sovereign, after a long rebellious War, falls into his enemies hands: * ' Who erect a new *Tribunal* of abject Sub-
' jects againſt Him, which they call the *High Court of Juſtice*:
' the greateſt part whereof were *Commanders* of the *Army*, who
' before had conſpired his deſtruction, and ſuch Members of the
' Houſe of Commons as were his moſt heavy friends; the reſt
' were of the *dregs* of the City of *London* or the Neighbourhood.
' Among theſe, one or two were Shoe-makers, ſome Ale-brew-
' ers, Goldſmiths, and other Mechanicks; Caſt-off Lawyers,
' Spend-thrifts, Bankrupts, Whore-maſters many. Out of the
' number of theſe Judges were expunged all the *Lords* [of the
' *Upper Houſe*] for that they rejected the Vote for trying the
' King; and the *Judges* of the Kingdom likewiſe, for that be-
' ing asked their opinions privately about this matter, they an-
' ſwered, *That it was againſt the received Laws and Cuſtoms of Eng-*
' *land that the King ſhould be brought to Tryal.* They now ap-
' point a *Preſident* to this Court, one *Bradſhaw*, a fogging
' fellow, of obſcure birth, and of effronted impudence.

* *Elenchus. Mot. Angl.* Engl. p. 243, &c.

' * Before

* Before theſe Judges the King is brought, and is charged in the name of the *People* with Tyranny and Treaſon: and by this authority of the people of *England* the Preſident tells him he is called to account, as being by their Election admitted King. The King replies, That *the Kingdom deſcended to him in no wiſe Elective, but had been hereditary for above a thouſand years:* That *there appeared none of the Lords, who ought to the conſtituting of a Parliament to be there:* That *yet neither both the Houſes had any authority to call the King to account, much leſs ſome certain Judges masked with the authority of the Lower Houſe, and that proculcated:* That *the Laws of* England *enjoin all accuſations to be made in the King's name: nor do they indulge any power of judging even the moſt abject Subject to the Lower (or Commons) Houſe.* The Preſident, who ever and anon interrupted Him, tells Him, That *the Court was not to hear any reaſons that detracted from their power.* But *what or where,* ſays the King, *is that Court in which no place is left for reaſon? You ſhall find,* anſwers the Preſident, *that this very Court is ſuch an one:* and growing angry, commands the *Priſoner to be taken away.* Who being † brought the fourth time, the Preſident commands the Sentence to be read under this form, *Whereas* Charles Stuart *being accuſed by the People of Tyranny, Treaſon, Murthers and Miſ-government, and hath not anſwered for himſelf, be therefore the ſaid* Charles Stuart *adjudged to death by the ſevering of his head from his body.* He is now hurried away by the Soldiers, who triumphing and mocking, cry out, *Juſtice, Juſtice.* They *ſpit* upon his *Clothes*; which he wiping off, ſaid, *Chriſt ſuffered more for me.* * One (as among other ſtanders-by, a Colonel, one of the King's Judges related, not without commendation of the Soldier's hardineſs) defiles his venerable *Face* with Spittle. They whiff *Tobacco* in his face, the ſmell of which they knew was *offenſive* to him. Such as bowed or put off their Hats, they *baſtinadoe.* They intrude themſelves into his *Cloſet*; deny him the uſe of his *Chaplains,* all but one; keep a loud *laughing* at him as he was at *Divine Service* after the manner of the Church of *England*; and whilſt he was preparing for his laſt, buſie him with *ſcoffs* and *whimſie queſtions.* Certain Soldiers the day before his death offer him *propoſitions,* promiſing to gratifie him with his Life and Regal Authority, if he would ſubſcribe them. Which having read, he rejects, ſaying, *I will rather undergo a thouſand deaths, than ſo proſtitute my Honour and my*

* See alſo *England's Black Tribunal.*

† *Jan.* 27. 1648.

* See alſo *Hiſtory of Independ.* 2 part. p. 92. And *View of Late Troubles,* p. 370.

'my *Peoples Liberties.* The Scaffold is erected before his *Banqueting-house*, where he was wont to ascend the *Throne.* Whi-
* *Jan.* 30. 1648. 'ther being * come, about an hours space he was at *prayer*: 'and then ascends the *Scaffold*, where the *Executioners* in *Vizards* 'encounter Him, and the *Block* and *Ax* present themselves. *All* 'mine enemies, says He, *I pardon from my very heart, and earnestly* 'beseech God to grant them sound repentance, and remit this great sin. 'I die, adds He, *in the Christian faith, according to the profession of* 'the Church of England, *as the same was left me by my Father of* 'blessed *Memory.* Having given advice for the welfare of the 'Kingdom, he prays, and stoops to the Block, and so the *Vi-* 'zarded *Executioner cut off His Head.*

And now, my Brethren, I question not but ye will conclude with me, that these men have acted as if they had never read the Apostle's *Injunction* in our Text; and if they had not been quite *over-run* with malignity of *nature*, and moved by a more than *ordinary* impulse of the *Devil*, they could not have perpetrated this monstrous villany. O my soul, come not thou into their secret, unto their assembly be not thou united: who in their presumption and self-will slew their *King*, the *Lord's Anointed.* May this one act suffice them (which truly is wickedness enough for an *age*) as having hereby made themselves famous enough for impious *boldness*, and run themselves far enough towards *perdition.* Now they have done so much, may they for ever hereafter *cease* their insurrections, as taught by sad experience how *far* in the nasty chambers and abominable mysteries of darkness, unto what horrid and hellish villany, the *Devil* leads the *Rebellious.* Let the Memorial of this day be a perpetual shame and curb to all Seditious spirits. *Amen.*

Nor can the Raisers and Prosecutors of the *War* wash their hands clear from this Blood, though some of them exclaimed against the hellish Deed. For they *hunted* the King into the snare wherein he was taken and perished; they *brought* him to the Block whereon their fellow Soldiers cut off his Head; † they *accused* and *arraigned* him for an *illegal* and arbitrary Governour, a *Violator* of his *Oaths* and Promises, a *Grand Delinquent*, an *Enemy* to the *State*, a *Rebel* to the *Law*, a *Traytor* against the *Parliament*,

† See *Love's Engl. Distemp.* p. 32. *Prynne's Pop. Favorite.* Epist. p. 3. &c. p. 39. His *Power of Parliam.* p. 186, &c. 2 *Part.* p. 33, &c. *Commons Petit. & Remon.* 15. *Decemb.* 1641. *Regal Tyranny.* p. 50. to 58. *Declarat. shewing the Reasons for no more Address.* Fowlis's *Hist. of Presb.* l. 2. c. 2. & l. 3. c. 1. & 2. & 5. p. 230.

liament, for *Popiſh*, a *Tyrant*, a *Moſt Bloody man*; and the others *Executed* him as ſuch. *The Presbyterians* (ſays * *John Milton*, the defender of the Regicides) *have for theſe ſeven years Depoſed the King, not only by depriving him of his authority, but by conferring it upon others. If then the Oaths of Subjection broken, new Supremacy obeyed, new Oaths and Covenants taken, have in plain terms unkinged the King; much more then hath the ſeven years War, not Depoſed him only, but Outlawed him, and deſied him as an Alien, a Rebel to Law, an Enemy to the State.—Have they not levied all the Wars againſt him?* &c. *They certainly who by depoſing him have long ſince taken from him the life of a King, his Office and Dignity, they in the trueſt ſenſe may be ſaid to have killed the King, not only by depoſing, and waging War againſt him, which ſet him in the fartheſt oppoſite point from any vital function of a King, but by their holding him in Priſon, vanquiſhed and yielded into their abſolute and deſpotick power, which brought him to the loweſt degradement and incapacity of a Regal name.*

* *Tenure of Kings*, p. 37, &c.

But when the late miſchievous War and the horrid Regicide ought to have frighted all from attempting ſuch things any more, yet ungodly men (by a better name they call themſelves, but moſt unjuſtly) have oft endeavoured to act the ſame again. Which I ſhall now ſhew: *viz.*

3. *The Rebellious Practices of ſome of our Fanaticks ſince the Reſtauration of our preſent King.* As ſoon almoſt as He was ſetled in his Throne (at *Chriſtmas* 1661, as I remember) roſe up *Venner* and his company of *Fifth-Monarchy men* in *London*, acted with ſtrong deluſion, expecting Chriſt Jeſus to come down from Heaven in perſon to them in St. *Paul's Church-yard* for their aſſiſtance in deſtroying the preſent Powers.

'* In the next year 1662 was a Conſpiracy among ſeveral ſorts 'of our *Sectaries*, to levy *War* againſt the *King*, and to ſurprize 'and *kill* Him, with the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, 'Sir *Richard Brown*, and to give no quarter to any that oppoſed 'them; to put an end to *Kings*, *Princes*, *Dukes*, that they might 'have a *free State*, and be troubled no more with any ſuch kind 'of men, nor with *Lawn-ſleeves* and *Surcingles*. For this end 'they had provided ſtore of Arms, and had laid them up in ſe'veral places, and had diſpoſed a good number of them to their 'Friends.

* *Narrative of the Tryal and Condemnation of* T. Tonge, *&c. at the* Old Bayly, London, *Dec.* 11. 1662.

' Friends. The time appointed for the Inſurrection was *Alhallows Eve*: and to colour the buſineſs they pretended that they had received a *Letter* from a Correſpondent of the *Papiſts*, that the *Papiſts* at that time intended to make uſe of their Army [meaning the *King's Guards* at *White-hall*] for the Maſſacring of all *Proteſtants* in the City. Which news they diſperſed in and about *London* by a Letter of their own to their Friends: wherein they invited them *to doe what Piety to God, Loyalty to their King, Love to their Country, and Self-preſervation ſhould direct them: Calling the eternal God to witneſs that this was no trepan nor trick, but a ſober truth.* They had framed a *Declaration* to juſtifie their proceedings, *viz.* againſt *Popery* and *Monopolies*, *Biſhops* and *Common-Prayer*, for *Liberty* of *Conſcience* and a *free Commonwealth.* They were diſcovered by ſome of the Party, and ſeveral of them were apprehended, tried and condemned at *Juſtice-Hall* in the *Old Bayly*, *London*, the ſame year, *Dec.* 11. Some acknowledged themſelves wholly guilty, others ſo far guilty as that they heard this villany diſcourſed of, and did not reveal it: only *Tho. Tonge* in his Dying Speech ſaid, That he had ſometimes been in ſome mens company where he had heard them contriving the buſineſs for which he was condemned to die; and that that which led him to join with them, was this, That *he had ſometimes been in the Army, and looked upon this cauſe to be good.*

N. B.

After the Diſcovery of the Plot in 1662, the ſame ſort of factious Diſſenters laid a Plot the very next year (*viz.* 1663.) in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, to this purpoſe.

Hiſtory of Plots by *Oliver Fowlis*, in Quarto. Printed *A.D.* 1664.

' *Firſt*, To reconcile all their Brethren of different perſuaſions. ' *Secondly*, Upon an Oath of Secrecy, to ſend Agitatours all over ' *England* with propoſitions moſt comprehenſive of all Intereſts, ' who met at one *Ouldred*'s houſe (the *Devil of Dewsbury*, as they ' call'd him) and afterwards at *Stank-houſe* in that County, from ' whence *Maiſden* and *Palmer* are ſent Agitatours to *London* to the ' *Secret Committee* there, whence they bring a reſolution to riſe ' *October* the 12*th*, with aſſurance that the Inſurrection ſhould be ' general. *Thirdly*, To attempt *White-hall*, upon ſome Shew-' night, to ſecure *New-Caſtle* for a paſſage to *Scotland*, and *Boſton* in *Lincoln-ſhire* for Correſpondence with Foreign Parts, for ' Succours and Ammunition. *Fourthly*, To lay hold upon the ' Gentry.

'Gentry. *Fifthly*, To oppoſe Subſidies and Chimny-money, to 'reſtore the Long Parliament, to eſtabliſh a Goſpel-Magiſtracy 'and Miniſtry, and to check the Clergy, Gentry and Lawyers. '*Sixthly*, They preached over all the Nation in order to a general 'riſing, calling it, *following the Lamb*, and inferring from that ex-'preſſion the lawfulneſs of the deſign, ſo it were carried on for 'the love of the Cauſe, and for no By-ends. *Seventhly*, They 'were to Garriſon *Gloceſter*, *Nottingham*, &c. and to this purpoſe 'had ſeveral meetings at *Leeds* and the *Spaw*. *Eighthly*, They 'had a *Secret Committee* for two years before in *London* about 'the Plot, who had Liſted Eighteen Thouſands. *Ninthly*, They 'drew a *Declaration* to unite the Sectaries againſt the Govern-'ment. *Tenthly*, They were to begin in *Ireland*. *Eleventhly*, To 'ſeize the Lord *Falconbridge* and the Lord *Fairfax*'s Horſes and 'Arms, with the reſt of the Gentries and Clergies. This Plot 'was diſcover'd by ſome concern'd in it, and Thirty Executed 'for it.

Now though the diſcovery of this Plot and Execution of ſo many of the hotteſt of them, daſh'd their hopes at preſent, and God's ſevere hand upon the Nation in the year —65 a little check'd their Ambition, and ſo one plague ſerv'd to ſtop another; yet no ſooner was that over, but they are all at work again as eagerly as ever. The *Gazette*, publiſh'd *April* the 30*th*, 1666, hath theſe words:

'At the Seſſions in the *Old Bayly*, *John Rathbone*, an old Army-'Colonel, *William Saunders*, *Henry Tucker*, *Thomas Flint*, *Thomas* 'Evans, *John Miles*, *William Weſtcoat* and *John Cole*, (formerly 'Officers or Soldiers in the late rebellion) were Indicted for con-'ſpiring the Death of the King, and the overthrow of the Go-'vernment, having laid their plot and contrivance for the ſur-'prizal of the *Tower*, the killing of his *Grace the Lord General*, 'Sir *John Robinſon*, Lieutenant of his Majeſtie's Tower of *Lon-'don*, and Sir *Richard Brown*, and then to have declared for an 'equal diviſion of Lands, &c. The better to effect this Helliſh 'deſign, the City was to have been Fired, and the Portcullis-'ces to have been let down, to keep out all aſſiſtance, the Horſe-'guard to have been ſurpriz'd in the Inns, where they were Quar-'ter'd, ſeveral Oſtlers having been gain'd to that purpoſe; the

Bedlow's Narrative of Fires, p. 14.

'*Tower* was accordingly view'd, and its ſurprize order'd by Boats 'over the Moat, and from thence to ſcale the Wall; one *Alexan-* 'der, who is not yet taken, had likewiſe diſtributed Sums of 'money to theſe Conſpirators; and for carrying on the deſign 'the more effectually, they were told of a great *Council* of the 'great ones that ſate frequently in *London*, from whom Iſſued all 'Orders, which Council received their directions from another 'in *Holland*, which ſate with the *States*, and the 3*d* of *September* 'was pitch'd on for the attempt, as being found by *Lily*'s Alma-'nack, and a Scheme erected for that purpoſe to be a lucky day; 'a Planet then ruling, which prognoſticated the downfall of Mo-'narchy; the Evidence againſt theſe perſons was very full and 'clear, and they accordingly found guilty of High-Treaſon.

In the ſame year (*viz.* 1666) a company of *Presbyterian Scots* (Nine hundred ſays their own * friend) roſe up in arms, and renewed the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*: which in their fight with the King's Forces, under Lieutenant-General *Dalzel* at *Pentland-hills*, were routed. Their Plea and Juſtification of themſelves for this fact (the bare relation whereof is ſufficient condemnation) I ſhall give you in the words of ſome of them that were arraigned, condemned and executed for the ſame, delivered in their *laſt Writings* and *Speeches*, and recorded by their great Advocate in his Book intituled *Napthtali*. Thus Ten of them jointly teſtifie and ſubſcribe, † *We ſuffer for renewing the Covenant, and in purſuance thereof, for preſerving our ſelves by Arms againſt the Uſurpation of the Prelates.* One of theſe ten, *John Shields*, declares ſingly thus, * *I ſuffer not for any Rebellion againſt his Majeſtie's lawfull authority, but for renewing of the Covenant, and for following the Ends thereof, as to the ſuppreſſing of Abjured Prelates and intruders upon the Lord's flock, and the Reſtoring of the houſe of God by Preſbyteries.* And another of the ten thus, † *I deſigned no rebellion againſt lawfull authority, but the ſuppreſſing of Prelacy and Profanity, and the advancing of holineſs. I did intend the reſtoring of our good Miniſters; and thought it my duty to appear in helping the Lord againſt the Mighty.* Thus Mr. *M. Kaile*, * *As ſoon as I heard of a party up in arms, I was moved to go along with them, being Bound by the Covenant againſt indifferency and neutrality in this matter, and to eſteem every injury done to any engaged in this Covenant upon the account of it, as done to my ſelf: very conſcience of duty urged me to this.*

* *Napthtali*, p. 137. to 141. printed 1667.

† P. 216.

* P. 227.

† P. 228.

* P. 241.

* In

* ‘ In the year 1668 *July*, Mr. *James Mitchel* (one of these *Pentland-hill* Rebels, and a *Presbyterian* Conventicle-Preacher) ‘ discharged a Piſtol laden with three Bullets at the *Arch-Biſhop* ‘ of St. *Andrews*, but miſſed him, and eſcaped then taking. But ‘ returning in the year 1673, was taken, and kept Priſoner till ‘ 1676; when in *December* he was brought to his tryal, and there ‘ the Biſhop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Halton* depoſed, that having ‘ asked him, what moved him to make ſuch a bloody attempt, ‘ he anſwered That *he did it becauſe the Arch-biſhop was an enemy ‘ to the people of God.* In his *Speech* which was found in his pocket ‘ at his Execution at *Edenburgh*, (*Jan.* 18. 167⅝) and whereof he ‘ had tranſcribed ſeveral Copies, he thus juſtifies himſelf, *I am ‘ brought here that I may be a witneſs for God's deſpiſed truth and in- ‘ tereſt, who am called to ſeal the ſame with my blood. I bleſs my God ‘ that he hath thought me ſo much worthy to lay down my life in teſtimony ‘ of the Cauſe of Chriſt.* In a *Letter* to a Friend thus he writes, *As ‘ to Rebellion and Treaſon (as they term it) I anſwered to my Lord ‘ Chancellor, That it was no Rebellion, but a Duty which every one was ‘ bound to have performed in joining with that Party: As to the Arch- ‘ biſhop of St.* Andrews, *I looked upon him to be the main inſtigator of ‘ all the oppreſſion and bloodſhed of my brethren.—— I proſecuted the Ends ‘ of the Covenant, which was and is (in that part) the Overthrow of ‘ Prelates and Prelacy. Theſe Murthering Prelates ought to be killed by ‘ the avenger of blood when he meeteth them.* And in another *Speech* ‘ he hath theſe words, *Happy ſhall he be that taketh this Prelatical ‘ brood, and daſheth them againſt the ſtones.* And yet as bad as this ‘ man was, the Fanaticks *owned, juſtified, honoured* him. His Ma- ‘ jeſtie's *Advocate*, who purſued him, receiving a *threatning Letter*, ‘ and the common talk of the Town was, that Mr. *James Mitchel*'s ‘ blood ſhould be *revenged* upon the *whole order*. From the Weſt ‘ a private *Meſſage* was ſent to the Arch-biſhop, to aſſure him, ‘ that if Mr. *James* were hanged, another ſhould not fail to *execute ‘ his deſign*. And you ſhall next ſee, that they were as good as ‘ their word.

* *Ravillac Redivivus*, p. 14, *&c.*

† ‘ In the year 1679, *May* 3. the *Arch-biſhop* ‘ of St. *Andrews*, as he was riding in his Coach ‘ from *Kennoway* to his Houſe, was aſſaulted ‘ betwixt a 11 and 12 a Clock in the forenoon ‘ by 11 or 12 of theſe ill-principled men: who wounded the

† *Narrative of the Murther of the Arch-biſhop of St.* Andrews: *Extracted out of the Regiſters of the Privy Council.* Bound up with *The Spirit of Popery.*

'Poſtilion in the face with a Sword, and ſtopped the Coach, and 'fired a Piſtol at the Arch-biſhop: but that miſſing him, they 'called to him by the name of *Dog, Villain, Betrayer of Chriſt and 'his Church*, &c. and bad him come out of his Coach *to receive 'what he deſerved for his wickedneſs againſt the Kirk of Scotland.* Upon 'this his Daughter got out of the Coach, and fell on her knees, 'begging her Father's life: but they regarded neither prayers nor 'tears, threw her down ſeveral times, trampled on her, and 'wounded her. The Arch-biſhop came out of the Coach, and 'ſeeing he muſt die, kneeled down to one of them, and ſaid, '*Since you are reſolved I muſt die, ſpare the life of my child here; and 'for this, Sir, give me your hand.* And thereupon ſtretching his 'hand towards the cruel man, he had for a return a very great '*blow* with a Shable, which almoſt *cut off* his hand; and the Vil-'lain re-doubling his ſtroke, gave him *another* great wound upon 'the left *eye*. This ſtroke knocked him down: but getting upon 'his knees again, he ſaid, *Gentlemen, it is now enough, you have done 'your work*; and holding up his hands (as well as he could) to 'heaven, he fervently cryed out, *Lord Jeſus, have mercy on my ſoul, 'and receive my ſpirit.* Whilſt he was in this poſture of devotion, 'they wounded him in his *hands* and *other* parts of his body, till 'in a kind of compoſure he laid down his head upon his arm, 'ſaying, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all.* After this they 'gave him no leſs than *ſixteen* wounds on his *head*, inſomuch that 'it ſeemed to be all *one wound.* And *pieces* of his ſcattered skull 'and brains were ſome days after found on the ground. Having 'thus hacked and cleft his head, ſome of them as they were go-'ing away thought they heard him groan, which made them go 'back, and to make ſure work, *ſtir up* his *brains* in the skull
* *Ib. p. 63.* 'with the points of their Swords. Thus he died. * It was 'made apparent upon the examining of the Inhabitants of *Magus* 'upon Oath, that theſe bloody Aſſaſſines, and many others which 'were ſtrongly preſumed to have been Abettors and Contrivers 'of this Murther, were notorious *Fanaticks*, frequenters of *Field-'Conventicles*, and followers of Mr. *Welſh* and other intercommu-
† *P. 65.* 'ned and rebellious *Preachers.* † *Five* of the Complotters and 'Abettors of this horrid Murther choſe to *die*, and to be hung 'up in *Chains* upon the place, rather than confeſs the *ſinfulneſs* of 'the action. The Fanatical party foretold it in ſeveral places: 'and he who commanded the Foot for Mr. *Welſh* upon *Reupar-*

'*law*,

'*law*, the famous *Field-Conventicle*, owned that their Friends *thanked* 'God for the Arch-biſhop's death. Which neither they nor 'their Abettors will call *Murther*, when they have occaſion to 'ſpeak thereof.

* Immediately after the Arch-biſhop's death, the ſame month and year (*May* 29. 1679.) this ſort of men (the *Scotch Presbyterian Covenanters* and *Field-Conventiclers*) brake forth into another inſurrection and rebellion, † for the promoting, as they declared, the Ends of the *Covenant*; * increaſing unto the number of *fourteen* or *fifteen* thouſand. Who were overthrown by the King's Forces under the Conduct of the *Duke* of *Monmouth* at *Bothwell-Bridge*. † They teach, 'That the King hath no *right to govern*, 'becauſe he hath revolted from the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*: 'and *damn* the *Act* of *Parliament* for an *Anniverſary-day of Thankſgiving*, *May* 29. for his Majeſtie's *Reſtauration*, and *burn* it publickly at the Croſs of *Rugland* on the ſame 29 of *May*, together 'with the *Act* of *Supremacy*. * Mr. *John King*, a *Presbyterian* 'Preacher to theſe Rebels (who was executed for High Treaſon 'and Rebellion *Aug.* 4. 1679.) in his *Laſt Speech* ſays, *I bear witneſs againſt all Oaths and Bonds contrary to our Covenant and Engagements, eſpecially that Oath of Supremacy.—I bear my teſtimony againſt that horrid violation done to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in ſpoiling him of his Crown and Sceptre through that wofull Supremacy ſo much applauded to.* 'The ſame ſays Mr. *John Kid*, another of the ſame Preachers, in his *Laſt Speech*, † *Supremacy is deſtructive down-rightly to the ſworn Covenants.—I am preſſed in conſcience to bear my teſtimony againſt, and abhorrence of every Uſurpation that is made againſt Chriſt's Crown and Kingdom, original upon, and derivative from that which they call the Supremacy.* The ſame ſays the Author of *Napthtali*, p. 89, 90, 95, 123. And I believe, * Many of our *Diſſenters*, if they were tryed, as well as *Papiſts*, will not take the *Oath* of *Supremacy*. And to deny the King's Supremacy over *all perſons* and in *all cauſes*, *Eccleſiaſtick* as well as *Temporal*, is known of all to be *Popery*.

* *Ib. p.* 63.

† See *The King's Proclam. Edenburg. Nov.* 22. 1680.

* *Loyalties Summons*, p. 23, &c.

† *Spirit of Popery*, p. 8.

* *Ib.* p. 43, 46.

† *Ib.* p. 7, 9, 15.

* *See* Fowlis's *Hiſt. of Presb.* l. 3. c. 3.

And yet more of this wickedneſs proceeding from the ſame ſort of men your ſhall hear, and that from their own Confeſſions. * '*James* 'Skene being examined at *Edenburg Nov.* 13. '1680. in the preſence of the Lords of the

* *Account of the Examinat. and Confeſſ. of ſeveral Conſpirators in Scotland: together with the Proclamat. iſſued upon that occaſion by the Lords of his Majeſtie's Privy Council of that Kingdom: publiſhed by Authority*, p. 3, 4.

Privy

'*Privy Council*, Whether he was with the Rebels at *Bothwell-bridge*, 'anſwers, That *he thinks thoſe perſons were not Rebels, for that they* 'were in defence of God's cauſe, which he had honourably engaged them 'to. He owns and juſtifies the *burning* of the King's *Acts* of *Par*'liament at *Rutherglen*, becauſe they were againſt the *Covenant*: 'Declares, that he owns the *Excommunication* againſt the *King* uſed 'by *Cargil*, and thinks the reaſons of it *juſt*: that he thinks the '*Killing* of the *Arch-biſhop* of St. *Andrews* was *no Murther*, and 'that the Actors thereof were upon their *duty*: that he thinks 'there is a declared war betwixt thoſe who ſerve the Lord, and 'thoſe who ſerve the King againſt the *Covenant*, and that it is '*lawfull* to *kill* them in defence of the Goſpel: that he thinks, the 'King being excommunicated, and there being now a lawfull 'war declared againſt him upon the account of the breach of the '*Covenant*, it is *lawfull* to *kill him*, and to kill him, if he were paſ'ſing along in his *Coach*, as the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews* was, 'and to kill *all* that were in oppoſition to the *Covenant*. And all 'this he *ſigned* by writing his name, *James Skene*. And *Archibald* * *Ib. p.* 5, 6. '*Steward* being at the ſame time examined, declares, * That he 'was *preſent* at the Excommunication of the King at the *Conven*'*ticle* at *Torwood*, and was there in *Arms*, and that he was *juſtly* 'excommunicated, and that he diſowns His *Authority*, and thinks 'he is not obliged to *obey* him, becauſe he hath broken the Cove'nant: that he thinks it was *lawfull* to kill the Arch-biſhop of 'St. *Andrews*, becauſe he had betrayed the Kirk, and that he owns 'the *Proclamation* againſt the King at *Sanchar*, and the *burning* of 'the King's *Acts* of Parliament at *Rutherglen* as a *duty*, and owns 'and juſtifies *Cargil*'s *Covenant*: Signed thus, *Archibald Steward*. † *P.* 7, 9. '† And *Nov.* 15. in the preſence of the *Committee* of Council he 'confeſſes, that in general they had a mind to *kill any* that ſhould 'oppoſe them, and that they had a deſign to kill *Tho. Kennoway* 'in the Guard, becauſe he had taken ſeveral of their party, and 'Mr. *John Park*, Miniſter of *Garrin*, and Mr. *James Hamilton*, Mi'niſter of *Borrowſtonneſs*, becauſe they had been inſtrumental to 'diſcover Mr. *Donald Cargil* at *Queens-Ferry*; and that if they 'could have gotten any of the *Biſhops* or *Judges* in their hands, 'they would have *killed* them. And *Nov.* 16. he declares that 'Mr. *Donald Cargil* in his Preachings *adviſed* them to theſe de* *P.* 10. 'ſigns. * And *John Potter* being examined *Nov.* 17. declares, 'he own and juſtifies the *Declaration* in *Sanchar*, and that he

owns

'owns not the King for *King*, and thinks he owes no *Obedience* to 'Him. ‖ All the former particulars are again expreſly mentioned in the King's *Proclamation* iſſued forth upon this occaſion, *Nov.* 22. 1680. Some of which I ſhall again relate from *thence* for further ſatisfaction to all. † *A treaſonable Covenant was found with Mr.* Donald Cargil, *one of their ſeditious Preachers, on the* 3d *day of* June *laſt: wherein they declare Us an Uſurper and the Devil's Vicegerent.*——*And the* 22d *of* June *laſt, they affixed to the Market-Croſs and other places of our Burgh of* Sanchar, *their treaſonable Declaration, wherein they diſown Us to be their King, calling themſelves the Repreſentatives of the true Presbyterian and Covenanted people of* Scotland, *and declaring an open War againſt Us, and all our Loyal Subjects. And a moſt treaſonable Bond was found among the Papers of* Richard Cameron: *wherein they declare themſelves looſed from their Allegiance to Us; which Bond was ſigned by* Thomas Douglas, *pretended Miniſter of the Goſpel,* John Vallence, *&c. And in* October *laſt they ſacrilegiouſly excommunicated Us by* Donald Cargil *at a numerous Field-Conventicle at* Torwood *in* Sterling-ſhire.——*And by this Mock Excommunication, and the foreſaid Declaration of War at* Sanchar, *they endeavour to juſtifie the lawfulneſs of killing Us, and our faithfull Miniſters and Subjects. The Originals of all which Papers herein mentioned do lie in the hands of the Clerks of our Privy Council. Moreover, the Reality of this horrid Plot is further evident by the free confeſſion of* James Skene, Archibald Steward *and* John Potter: *who in the face of our Privy Council have avowed and declared their owning of, and adherence to the aforeſaid treaſonable Covenant, Declaration and Excommunication: and with bare faces aſſert the lawfulneſs of killing Us their Sovereign, our only Brother, our Miniſters, Biſhops and Judges; and that it is their Duty to kill Us and them according as they ſhall have power and opportunity.*

‖ Theſe three, *Skene, Steward, Potter,* were executed at *Edenburg, Dec.* 1. 1680.

† P. 15, *&c.*

All this is ſurely ſufficient to convince every good Chriſtian * of the wickedneſs of theſe men. And upon this ſad narration I appeal to all ſincerely pious, Whether the *King*, or theſe *Rebels*; and whether the *Arch-biſhop* of St. *Andrews*, or his *Aſſaſſinates* and their *Abettors*, be the *worſe* men: Whether theſe *Scotch* Fanaticks be not a *ſeditious* and *bloody* ſort of people: Whether we are not in danger of *private Murthers* and *publick War* by them: Whether our *Epiſcopacy* and *Liturgy*,

* Calvin, *whoſe Diſciples they pretend to be, condemns them: who condemns all private mens taking Arms even againſt Tyrannical Princes: as we have ſeen before.*

turgy, or their *Murthers* and *Rebellions*, be the *true Popery*: Whether *their doctrine*, that the *King* having *revolted* from the *Covenant*, and the *Jesuits*, that the King being an *Heretick*, may be *excommunicated*, and hath no *right* to govern, and may *lawfully* be resisted by his Subjects with force of *arms*, be *deprived* of his dominion, and be killed; be not the *same*: Whether these men, when they are *punished* for their *Murthers* and *Rebellions*, suffer *persecution for righteousness sake*: Whether they are not sadly *deluded*, * and whether they do not grosly *profane God's Name* in pretending *his authority* for the said *Villanies*: Whether all ought not to *turn* from these *pernicious Preachers*.

* *Sæpius olim Relligio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.*

Many are apt in *excuse* of these sinners to say, they were *Papists* in disguise, crept in among them, that *did* the evils, or these at least *stirred* them up to them. Whereas nothing is plainer, than that the chief Actors were eminent and well known *Presbyterian Preachers* and *Covenanters*; and the other *numerous* companies that rose in arms with these, can no more be thought Papists, than the *Armies* which fought against our *late King*, or that *multitude* that conspired his *death*. And if Popish Priests did *stir* them up to the wickednesses (as indeed they are always busie in machinating mischief against our Government that is the Bulwark against their Popery) how *silly* then are they, and how *evily disposed* (who yet pretend great knowledge and sanctity) to *learn* of these Teachers, and *practice* their hellish counsels? And it is acknowledged then that this is a *Popish* work. And what excuse to *obey* Pope or Devil? for says St. *Peter*, blaming *Ananias* for the sin, as his *own* act and deed, though tempted, † *Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart?* Come, excuse them not because they are *Protestants*, but (as is just) let them that *act* like Papists, *fall* with Papists. Confess'd it must be (if we are impartial) that many among *our selves* are stark naught. For hear again,

† *Act.* 5. 3, 4.

4. The *Principles* of certain of our Fanaticks: which are as *pernicious* and *rebellious* as the foresaid Practices. That such were the Principles of the foresaid men, their *Deeds* and *Confessions* manifest. I shall now recite only a few words of some *others*, and that out of their *own Books* where I read them.

Knox, Hiſtory of Reform. L. 2. p. 190. *Whilſt vertue is contemned, and vice extolled* (ſay the *Lords* of *Scotland*) *while we are unjuſtly perſecuted, what godly man can be offended, that we ſhall ſeek reformation of theſe enormities by force of arms, ſeeing that otherwiſe it is denied us? We are aſſured, that neither God, nor nature, nor any juſt law forbiddeth us.* P. 313. *If Princes* (ſays *John Knox*) *do exceed their bounds, there is no doubt but they may be reſiſted even by power.* P. 387. *What ye may and ought to do by God's expreſs commandment, that I can tell. The Idolater ought to die the death by the people of God.——A commandment is given,* * *that if it be heard that Idolatry is committed in any one City, Inquiſition ſhall be taken: and if it be found true, that then the whole body of the people ariſe and deſtroy that city, ſparing in it neither man, woman nor child.——What God's word commands to be puniſhed in the people, is not to be abſolved in the King.* P. 389, 390. *God's law pronounces death to Idolaters without exception of perſons.——I affirm that the fact of* Jehu *in deſtroying the houſe of his Maſter* Ahab *for Idolatry committed by him, is to be imitated of all thoſe that prefer the true honour of the true worſhip of God to the affections of the fleſh and wicked Princes.* His *Appel.* p. 23. *The puniſhment of Idolatry* [Deut. 13.] *doth not appertain to Kings only, but alſo to the whole people, yea to every member of the ſame.* P. 22. *And the Gentiles embracing Chriſt, are bound to the ſame covenant* [*viz.* that in *Deut.* 13.] ——*And if any man go about to ſet up Idolatry, after that the verity hath been received and approved, then not only the Magiſtrates, but alſo the people are bound by that Oath which they have made to God, to revenge to the utmoſt of their power the injury done againſt his Majeſty.* P. 25. *I ſay, Unto ſuch a number as do boldly profeſs God's Religion, it is lawfull to puniſh the Idolaters with death, if by any means God give them power* †. The Author of the *Preface* to the ſaid *Hiſtory*, p. 44. *The Chimera of Paſſive Obedience is the invention of Court-paraſites, a non ens.*

* Deut. 13.

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† Here is both *Rebellion* and *Judaiſm* in high degree: that all Chriſtians *may* and *ought* to *kill* all, Strangers, their Husbands, Wives, Fathers, Children, their King and all his *iſſue*, when theſe are *Idolaters*, or which is the ſame, *Papiſts*. And why not as well *Adulterers*, who by the ſame *Judaic* Law were likewiſe to be put to death? Here is the Statute *de Hæreticis comburendis* revived. *Luke* 9. 55. *Ye know not what manner of ſpirit ye are of.* 1 Cor. 7. 12. *If any Brother hath a Wife that Believeth not, let him not put her away:* Eſpecially then may he not *kill* her, becauſe ſhe is an *Unbeliever*, an Heathen, an Idolater.

Milton, Contra Salmaſ. Def. Reg. (printed 1652.) c. 3. p. 64. *Rom.* 13. *Omnis anima*, &c. *Non tali*, &c. *Subjection is not commanded,* Rom. 13. *to a Magiſtrate that is not a terror to evil works, neither are we forbidden to reſiſt ſuch an one* †. P. 70. *Tulerunt Chriſtiani*, &c. *The Chriſtians ſuffered Princes of another Religion, it is true: but they were private men,* * *and far inferior in ſtrength.* The ſame Author, *Tenure of Kings* (printed 1649.) p. 14. *The people may, as oft as they ſhall judge it for the beſt, depoſe the King, though no Tyrant* †.

John Goodwin, Anticavalieriſm: (printed 1643.) p. 23. *The glory of Martyrdom doth not conſiſt in ſuffering wicked men* [Rulers] *to deſtroy us, when God puts an opportunity into our hand to defend our ſelves; but when it comes to a neceſſity of ſuffering, in not baulking with Chriſt.* The ſame Author, *Defence of the ſentence paſſed upon the late King by the High Court of Juſtice.* P. 11. *Reaſon gives the ſuperiority of Power to the People, or Parliament, and not to the King.—The people have the precedency in honour before the King.* P. 12. *When they find that the charge of maintaining Kingly Government hath been, and if continued, is like to be over-burdenſome to the State, conceiving upon good grounds withall that*

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† Juſt ſo ſays the Papiſt *Suarez, Adv. Sect. Ang. l.* 6. *c.* 6. §. 24. *Paulus* his verbis, *Omnis anima*, &c. *Rom.* 13. nunquam addidit, etiam Poteſtatibus *Excommunicatis* vel *deprivatis* à Papa omnes ſubditi ſint: *When St.* Paul *ſaid,* Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers; *he did not add, let all be ſubject to Powers whom the Pope hath Excommunicated or Deprived.* And ſo Pope *Nicolas* I. expounds 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. perverting the words: *Regi quaſi præcellenti* (virtutibus ſcilicet, non vitiis) *ſubditi eſtote: Be ſubject to the King, as excelling,* to wit, in *vertues,* not in *vices:* 1 *Epiſt.* 4. *Append. p.* 624. inſinuating, that only to a vertuous King we are to be ſubject.

* This is juſt *Bellarmine*'s doctrine, *De Rom. Pontif. l.* 5. *c.* 7. Quòd Chriſtiani olim non depoſuerunt *Neronem*, &c. id fuit quia deerant vires temporales Chriſtianis, nam alioqui jure potuerant id facere: *The reaſon why Chriſtians did not depoſe* Nero, Diocleſian, Julian, *was becauſe they wanted temporal power, for they might lawfully have done it.* And *Bannes*, another Popiſh Doctor, ſays, *Excuſandos eſſe Anglicanos Fideles*, &c. *The Engliſh Catholicks are to be excuſed for not waging war againſt their Rulers, and freeing themſelves from their power: becauſe they have not ſtrength enough, and it would be dangerous to them:* In 2. 2. *Thom.* q. 12. art. 2.

† The like, but ſomewhat better, ſays *Bellarmine, De Rom. Pont. l.* 5. *c.* 6. Papa poteſt mutare Regna, & uni auferre, atque alteri conferre, ſi id neceſſarium ſit ad animarum ſalutem: *The Pope may take the Kingdom from one, and give it to another, if that be neceſſary to the ſalvation of ſouls.* And Pope *Zachary* depoſed the King of the *Franks, Non tam pro ſuis iniquitatibus, quàm pro eo quod tantæ poteſtati erat inutilis, Not ſo much for his iniquities, as that he was unfit for ſo great power:* As Pope *Greg.* 7. tells us *Decret.* 2 *Part. Cauſ.* 15. *q.* 6.

another

another form of government will accommodate the interest of the State upon equal or better terms with less expence, a People or State formerly governed by Kings may very lawfully turn these servants of theirs out of their doors †. P. 39. *The people have a just and legal power in their Representative (which is the House of Commons) without the Lords to act and doe whatsoever they rightly judge conducible to their wealth and safety.* P. 59. *Nor doth any promise of Allegiance, Obedience, or subjection unto a King and his Successors or Posterity, though confirmed by an Oath, bind any longer or otherwise, either before God or men, than whilst and as this King or his Successors shall continue in the same deportment of themselves in the discharge of their trust and administration of their power, whereby they commended themselves unto us at the time when we swore such Allegiance unto them, and in consideration and expectation whereof the same was sworn by us.* * P. 60. *The observation of the Oath of Allegiance by the Parliament would have been as sinfull to them, as the observation of* Herod's *Oath was to him, who killed* John *the Baptist because he had so sworn.* P. 90, 95. *There never was for matter of guilt and death-deserving crimes a sentence more just and righteous awarded in any Court of Judicature in any age throughout the whole world, than that which passed in the High Court of Justice against the late King.*

Rutherford, Lex, Rex: (printed 1644.) p. 371. Obj. *Tertullian* saith, 'That the Christians might for strength and number have 'defended themselves against their Persecutors, but thought it 'unlawfull. Ans. *I ingeniously confess* Tertullian *was in that Error.* P. 261. *Obligation to suffer of wicked men falleth under no commandment of God, except in our Saviour.* P. 319. *Passive obedience is no where commanded, but only the Manner of suffering.* P. 334. *Though the*

† Right Popish Doctrine: *Bellarm. de Laic.* l. 3. c. 6. *Si causa legitima adsit, potest multitudo mutare Regnum in Aristocratiam aut Democratiam.* And *Recogn. de Laic. Navarrus non dubitat affirmare nunquam populum ita potestatem suam in Regem transferre, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat, ut in certis casibus etiam actu recipere possit.* [Let the Pope then be content to be deprived by Kings and People of what by them was given him.]

* This is pure *Jesuitical Popery:* the *Jesuites* and *Jesuitical Popes* teaching, that Subjects are not bound to keep those Oaths of Allegiance and Obedience which they made to their King whilst he was a *Catholick*, when he turns *Heretick*. *Azor. Hist. Mor.* p. 1. l. 8. c. 13. *Absolutos se noverint à debito fidelitatis, & totius obsequii, quicunque lapsis manifesto in hæresin tenebantur astricti. Bellarm. de Rom. Pont.* l. 3. c. 7. *Si Princeps aliquis ex Christiano fiat hæreticus, poterat Pastor ecclesiæ eum privare dominio in populos.*

King be preſent as an unjuſt invader in War againſt his innocent Subjects, he is abſent as a King: and therefore the innocent may defend themſelves.——*The King as offering unjuſt violence to his innocent Subjects, is not King* †. 377. *The Sovereign power of the Parliament is perfect without the King for all Parliamentary Acts.*——*It is falſe, that to an Act of Parliamentary Supremacy the conſent of the King is required.*——*More falſe is it, that the King hath a Negative voice in Parliament.* P. 68. *Kings go not as heritage from father to ſon.*

* How good a friend Mr. *Baxter* hath been to our late and our preſent King, let the Reader judge by all theſe his *words*, and by his *deeds*: and then conclude how *little* he deſerves his *Prince*'s favour: who yet can *plead* for it for *himſelf* and his *tribe*, and *take it ill* if it be denied them. *Ib.* p. 485, 486. *I ſpake much* (ſays he) *to blow the coals.*——*I encouraged many thouſands to that War.*

Baxter, Common-wealth: (printed 1659.) p. 420. to 425. * *Though a Nation wrong their King, yet may he not lawfully war againſt the publick good on that account, nor any help him in ſuch a war,*——*A war raiſed againſt the body of a Nation, is by them to be conſtrued to be againſt the common good. No war therefore againſt the body of a Nation by Prince or People, can be lawfull.*——*He that puts himſelf into a garb of hoſtility, is not to be truſted to for mercy, but when there is no other remedy.*——*If Princes injury* [from the people] *be too great to be born, they may lay down their Crowns at pleaſure,*——*If the Nation injuriouſly deprive themſelves of a Worthy Prince, the hurt will be their own: but if it be neceſſarily to their welfare, it is no injury to him.*——*Though ſome injury to the King be the occaſion of the War, it is the duty of all the people to defend the Common-wealth againſt him, ſo as that they proteſt againſt that injury. They reſiſt no true authority in reſiſting him that warreth againſt the Common-wealth.* P. 480. *It cannot be a juſt War that is made againſt the Parliament by the King.*——*If I had known the Parliament had been the beginners, and in moſt fault, yet the ruine of our Repreſentatives is a puniſhment greater than Any fault of theirs againſt a King can from him deſerve: and their faults cannot diſoblige me from defending the Common-wealth.* P. 484. *I am bound to ſubmit to the preſent Government* [in the year 1659.] *as ſet over us by God, and to obey for conſcience ſake, and to behave my ſelf as a Loyal Subject towards them.*

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† Much like this ſays the *Pope*, *Non permitto tibi (inquit Papa) ut Regi non pareas (quod eſſet contra jus divinum:) ſed facio ut ille qui tibi Rex erat, non ſit tibi deinceps Rex: I permit thee not, ſays the Pope, that thou obey not the King (which would be contrary to the divine Command:) but I make him that was thy King, to be no King to thee*: Bellarm. *in Barcl.* c. 3.

P. 486.

P. 486. *If such a War* [speaking of our late Civil War] *could not be prevented, I must take the same side as then I did. And my judgment tells me, that if I should doe otherwise, I should be guilty of Treason or disloyalty against the Sovereign Power of the land, and of perfidiousness to the Common-wealth.* P. 488. *If I had taken up Arms against the Parliament in that War, my conscience tells me I had been a Traytor, and guilty of resisting the Highest Powers* †.

Eutactus Philodemius, Origen of Civil Power (printed 1649.) p. 32. *There is no reason why an office of so great trust as the government of a*

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† Mr. *Baxter*, when at his Ordination he took the *Oath* of *Supremacy* (which is *Law*) thus swore, *I do declare in my Conscience, that the King's Highness is the* * *Only Supreme Governour of this Realm and of all other his Dominions, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical things or Causes as Temporal: —— And do promise from henceforth I shall bear true Allegiance to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Lawfull Successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, privileges, praeeminences and authorities granted or belonging to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.* Whether Mr. *Baxter* hath been true to his Oath, let his *words* and *deeds* testifie. In this 'Oath, (* says our present *Bishop* of *Lincoln*) We swear that the King is the 'Only Supreme Governour: Supreme, and so *none above him:* and *Only Supreme*, 'and so *none co-ordinate or equal to him.* So that by our known Laws our King 'is *Solo Deo minor*, invested with such a Supremacy as excludes both *Pope* and 'People and all the World, God Almighty only excepted, from having any 'power, jurisdiction or authority over him. [See his Proofs from the Laws p. 5. to 8.] I add, *Stat.* 13 *Car.* 2. *c.* 1. It is enacted, that *if any person shall maliciously and advisedly affirm, that both or either Houses of Parliament have a Legislative power without the King, he shall incur the penalty of a Premunire mentioned in the Stat. of* 16 Rich. 2. And it is also there declared, that *all Ordinances of both or either Houses of Parliament for imposing of Oaths, Covenants or Engagements, Levying of Taxes, or Raising of Forces and Arms, to which the Royal Assent either in Person or by Commission was not expressly had or given, were in the very first creation and making, and still are, and so shall be taken to be null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.* And *Stat.* 13. *Car.* 2. *c.* 6. *&* *Stat.* 14. *c.* 3. it is declared, that *within all his Majestie's Realms and Dominions the sole Supreme Government, Command and Disposition of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forts and Places of strength is and ever was the undoubted Right of his Majesty, and his Royal Predecessors, Kings and Queens of* England, *and that both or either Houses of Parliament cannot nor ought to pretend to the same, nor can nor lawfully may raise or levy any War, Offensive or Defensive, against his Majesty, his Heirs or lawfull Successors.* And *Stat.* 13. *Car.* 2. *c.* 1. *&* *Stat.* 14. *c.* 4. it is declared, that *it is not lawfull upon Any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King: and that the position of taking Arms by His Authority against His Person, or against those that are Commissionated by Him, is Trayterous.* And long before, 25. *Edw.* 3. *Stat.* 5. *c.* 2. it is declared *High Treason to levy War against the King, or to adhere to his enemies within the Realm, giving them aid or comfort.*

* See also *Artic. of our Church*, 37. And *Can.* 1. & 36 & 55.

* *Popish Principles*, p. 4.

Kingdom

Kingdom ſhould be Hereditary, in reſpect of the miſerable effects that muſt enſue.

Regal Tyranny: (Printed 1647.) p. 38. *Though the King be the Supreme Officer (which is all and the moſt he is) yet he is not the Supreme Power; for the abſolute ſupreme power is the people in general, made up of every individual; and the legal and formal ſupreme power is only their Commiſſioners, their Collective or Repreſentative body choſen by them, and aſſembled in Parliament.* P. 43. *The Houſe of Lords are mere Uſurpers and Incroachers, and were never intruſted by the People with any Legiſlative power; who merely ſit by the King's Prerogative, which is a mere ſhadow, and in truth nothing at all, there being no Law-making power in Himſelf, but merely and only at the moſt a Law-executing power; who by his Coronation-Oath is bound to paſs and aſſent to All ſuch Laws as his People or Commons ſhall chuſe.* P. 57. *It is ſcarce poſſible to commit that act of Tyranny that* Charles Stuart *is not guilty of: and therefore* de jure *he hath abſolved all his people from their Allegiance and Obedience to him.* P. 61. *It is lawfull in the ſight of God as well as man for a people to withdraw their Obedience to that Magiſtrate, or King, that refuſeth to govern them by legal juſtice; but oppreſſeth them contrary to the end of the truſt repoſed in him.* P. 85. *Only the legal Commiſſioners of the people, commonly called the Commons of* England *have an original and true power to erect Judicatures, and not the King, who is not to give a law unto his people, but his people unto him.* P. 92. *Our Houſe of Peers are no legal Judicature at all, nor have any true Legiſlative or Law-making power at all in them, having never in the leaſt derived it from the people, the true Legiſlators and Fountain of power, from whom only and alone muſt be fetched all derivative power that can be eſteemed juſt.* —*Up with the pretended power of the Lords by the roots, and let them ſit no longer as they do, unleſs they will put themſelves upon the power of their Country, to be freely thereby choſen as their Commiſſioners to ſit in Parliament: for in right all their actions now are unbinding and invalid.*

I have now ſatisfied my deſign in producing theſe Principles, which are apparently *Seditious* and *Rebellious*, and *Pernicious* to our Government: and the *iniquity* of them is therefore as apparent. Let all that love Truth and Righteouſneſs, Peace and Loyalty, pray they may never ſpread, and we may never feel their ſad effects.

Almighty

Almighty God! ſo rule the heart of our Sovereign Lord and Supreme Governour King Charles, *that He knowing whoſe Miniſter he is, may above all things ſeek thy honour and glory: And grant that all his Subjects, duly conſidering whoſe Authority he hath, may faithfully ſerve, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy bleſſed word and ordinance, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

FINIS.